

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN
COLLEGE of LIBERAL ARTS
DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT



Goodbye & Good Luck!

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A Newsletter for Department of Government Alumni and Friends



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Letter from the Chair



Gary Freeman

Greetings from the Department of Government!

This is the first of what we intend to be regular newsletters for the alumni and friends of the department. We have been remiss in the past by not keeping in touch and we hope to rectify that situation. Our goal is two-fold: to keep you abreast of the many

exciting developments in the department and to give us an opportunity to find out how you are doing and in particular how you are using your Government degree.

In 1998, one of my predecessors as chair, Jim Fishkin, called Dr. William S. Livingston “the heart and soul of the Department of Government in modern times.” Of course, that was only a slight compliment, since Livingston had already been branded the soul of the entire University. In any event, I think it only appropriate that this newsletter be named after one of the longest serving and most distinguished members of our faculty.

I admit, I feel a little guilt over the title, since it does not include Bill’s name. But he, I am sure, understands that bringing back TEX was inevitable. For those of you who do not know, Livingston was the sonorous voice of TEX, the University’s now defunct phone registration system; “goodbye and good luck” was his sign-off. Looking at his career in its entirety, I realize that 1990-2005, when Tex lived (really 1990-1997, after which online registration became available), hardly captures the majority of our alumni, but we find it appropriate nonetheless. Bill was not always overjoyed at his celebrity status as the voice of TEX. He told the *Texas Alcalde*, in 1997: “I have spent the last 48 years trying to establish a reputation as a teacher, a scholar, as an academic man, and now I seem likely to go down in history as a kind of folk hero, or anti-hero, a more or less anonymous, electronic voice giving canned answers to outraged students on the telephone.” In 1994, he told the *Austin American Statesman* that the voice of TEX “may be my only claim on immortality.” He couldn’t have known that the Internet would wipe that claim out, but it has, and

so we hope that this newsletter, named in his honor (along with the Livingston Graduate Fellowship established in 1995), gives him a new claim on immortality, because he deserves it.

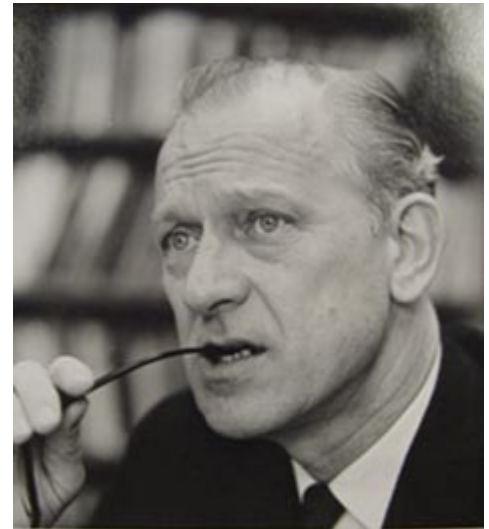
There are two defining characteristics that mark Livingston’s career – his loyalty to the University and his commitment to excellence in research and teaching. With respect to loyalty, Bill Livingston is a rare species. In the first decade of his employment at the University, Livingston had outside offers from at least four institutions, all promising more money and prestige, but he turned them down. Livingston wanted to be at Texas, because he likes it here, because of commitments he felt he had made, because he thought his position at Texas afforded him a unique opportunity to flourish as a scholar, and because he believed in the future. To an extent, we have all been free-riders on Livingston’s sense of what’s right ever since, as this department and this University would not exist in anything approaching its current form had he packed his bags.

On his commitment to excellence in research and training, Livingston has carried the torch of Sydney Mezes, the University president responsible for creating the Department of Government. Writing in 1905, three years before he became president of the University, and four years before he asked the Board of Regents to approve his plan for dividing the school of Political Science into its component parts of Government, Economics, and Institutional History, Mezes stated:

“There is nothing that gives the spirit of devotion to learning, to teachers themselves, as investigation does. An institution where knowledge is merely being handed out in parcels which have been gathered and securely tied up by others, is not an institution where the love of knowledge can flourish. An institution whose teaching force is not in contact with knowledge in the making, whose teaching force is not engaged in the process itself, of adding to the sum total of human science, is not an institution whose teaching force is of University grade. The whole level, the whole atmosphere of a university is kept on a lower plane as long as investigation is merely one of the incidents of its activities instead of being one of its main ends and aims.”

Livingston certainly agreed with Mezes’ assessment, and the research stature of this department and the University have grown accordingly. But it is important to emphasize that Livingston did not believe the graduate and undergraduate experiences, the research and teaching

experiences could be separated. Addressing the General Faculty in the annual state of the University address, following his appointment as interim president in 1992, Livingston described as “folly” a proposal to shift graduate funding to undergraduate programs and limit the number of doctoral hours that could be funded for any student. Livingston asserted that professors always have to strive to do more, as anything less provides “the ammunition to critics of higher education, often uninformed, who lamentably pit undergraduate against graduate education, teaching against research.” Livingston saw it quite another way: “Graduate and undergraduate education are intimately related. Shifting resources from graduate to undergraduate education imperils the very few institutions in this state that currently have the resources and capacity to generate new knowledge. As we know quite well, the lecture to the undergraduates did not suddenly materialize out of the air. It came from time spent in the library, the laboratory, the field. It came from research. In testing our findings in the classroom, we refine and redefine our thinking, and we generate new ideas for research. To see the two as separate and competing activities is a misapprehension. To contend that one can succeed only at the cost of the other is nonsense.”



William S. Livingston

Courtesy of the Center for American History,
The University of Texas at Austin
(Prints and Photographs Collection)

Livingston has been an exemplar of loyalty and an unwavering proponent of research and education, while insisting that all involved with higher education strive for and attain excellence. He lived these principles, instilling them in this department and this University, and we like to think you, graduates of this department, are all the better for it. Judging by your many successes, it seems you have been. We also think that these twin principles of loyalty and commitment to excellence are the ideal underpinnings for a relationship between the department and its alumni, and hope you agree.

Sincerely,

Gary P. Freeman, Chair

A New Era for Our Alumni

That was the headline of a Dec. 3, 1916 article in the Daily Texan, which reported: “A stronger relationship, a more loyal devotion on the part of the alumni was established and cemented by the great homecoming last Thursday. Henceforth their activities will be more closely allied with the aims and ideals of the University ... The Texan is glad to hail the coming of this new day.” This newsletter is a homecoming of sorts, and we too hail the coming of a new era for our alumni. As evidenced by these pages, the intellectual force of this department and its alumni takes a backseat to no one. Involved alumni are uniquely suited to help propel the department forward, and the future is always a rough draft - we hope you help us write it.

- Stuart Tendler

What must Republicans learn from the Obama Campaign?

By Max Everett

As often happens in political parties after an election defeat, Republicans are in the midst of soul searching and rebuilding. While the traditional activities such as finding a new voice for the party, announcing winning ideas, and recruiting new candidates are occurring, another discussion is also underway. Political professionals at every level are attempting to distill the lessons of the Obama campaign and its incredibly effective efforts on the internet.



Max Everett

The constant television ads that voters in swing states are subjected to every fourth November will continue to lose ground; a survey released this year showed that Americans are now spending as much time online as they do watching TV each week. Political operatives for both parties are beginning to understand that how campaigns and candidates talk to the electorate is changing more quickly than any time since the advent of television, and in ways that are fundamentally different from traditional mass media.

Social networks have become the great buzzword in fields from politics to social science to marketing, and with good reason. Never before has there been a place where people gathered together based on such a virtually endless catalog of common interests. From political interests to ownership of a particular breed of dog to love of a particular product, there is probably a social network somewhere online devoted to it. The ability to communicate in a targeted manner to a group sharing common interests is rapidly becoming the new retail politics.

The 'magic' driving political opportunity on all these new channels to communicate online is data. Politics has long been driven by data, from national opinion polls to counting the votes at a straw poll; but the volume and depth of the data available on the Internet is qualitatively different. Instead of general messages, based on broad models of voters, granular information from social networks, cookies, and geo-targeting now allow messages to be tailored and focused to an audience of one in some cases. Traditional voter files can now be appended to commercial advertising data and social network data, so campaigns can channel get-out-the-vote efforts to particular voters, on specific

streets in specific precincts, who voted in previous elections, and appear to fit their profile of likely voters.

But perhaps the biggest change brought on by these advances in technology is a change in expectations. Users of social networks online expect, in fact demand, interactivity. We see this in the massive growth of new social networks that offer people ways to not only connect, but also control their experience online. Those who will succeed in using this medium understand that it is a two-

way street. Simply blasting a message out will not bring results. In fact, that type of behavior online may have a very negative effect.

The core lesson of the Obama campaign may be the desire for voters to feel involved in the campaign and no longer simply be spectators. Participants in social networks expect to see results of their involvement, and that helps drive perhaps the greatest value of social networks for candidates. The Obama campaign's effort resulted in online supporters creating thousands of hours of video on YouTube and contacting millions of their friends and neighbors. It also helped them create an unprecedented fundraising engine – people are more likely to donate to something in which they feel a sense of ownership. It remains to be seen whether Republicans can learn and apply the lessons from the Obama efforts and apply them broadly to campaigns of all sizes.

The Bunche Experience

By Kiah Lewis



Kiah Lewis

Every year, 20 students from across the nation are chosen to participate in the Ralph Bunche Summer Institute (RBSI) at Duke University, directed by Dr. Paula McClain. Ralph Bunche, the 1950's Nobel Peace Prize recipient, was a passionate advocate for education and civil rights. In honor of his endeavors, this

program is geared toward encouraging minority students to pursue research in political science. Participants take graduate-level courses in Statistics and Race & Politics, which supplement an original research project that is completed over the course of the program. Additionally, the Graduate School Fair and weekly presenters provide substantial networking opportunities. I was fortunate enough to be afforded this notable opportunity, and the experience has provided me life-long friends and will continue inspiring me to pursue research in political science.

Academically, RBSI was one of the most challenging experiences of my college career so far. One participant described the program as "one of those things that you look back on and think 'how did I get through that?' but are happy that you did it." The weekly readings and discussions on race and politics were extensive yet thought provoking. After the first class discussion, fellow participants and I spent nearly the rest of the day debating issues presented in class. However, as engaging as those discussions were, the biggest challenge of RBSI was completing an original, empirical-based research project over the course of only four weeks. Using statistical analysis from various data sets, we developed and tested a hypothesis derived from our research interest. Although this was a great deal of work, I enjoyed putting forth the effort, especially since we were able to focus on a topic that was of personal interest. I wrote my paper on Black/Latino coalitions – it was called, "Commonality - Competition = Coalition? The Effect of Hispanic Perceptions of Competition with Blacks on the Potential for Coalition Building."

As the program moved forward, the coursework became more rigorous, but we received a great deal of support from the RBSI faculty and staff. As one Bunche participant noted, "The professors and teaching assistants present at RBSI were ... intellectual, passionate about what they were doing, and really helped [us] along the way." In addition, the participants formed a support group that allowed us to laugh at 2 a.m. in the computer lab while holding each other accountable to complete our work.

RBSI challenged me academically and I have also built social networks that I feel will last a lifetime. At first, I did not realize that my acceptance into RBSI was a welcome into a close network of political scientists known as 'Bunches'; however one of the noteworthy aspects of this program was the relationships built with other scholars. As one scholar expressed, "fellow participants brought a wealth of experiences, goals, and perspectives ... Indeed, they are the ones who have made the greatness of this experience unique and unrepeatable." I look forward to seeing my fellow Bunches accomplish great things in the world of political science.

On The Campaign Trail

By Brittany Ross

I was always raised that the one thing you never discuss over dinner is politics. As someone who has managed to make a career out of political campaigns, I always cringe when that inevitable question “what do you do?” comes up – I either have to lie or break that cardinal dinner conversation rule.

Without a doubt, the next question asked of me is, “how did you get into that, and why?” In my case, as part of my degree in Government, I interned on a campaign in Austin and then participated in UT’s Bill Archer Fellowship Program, where I worked for EMILY’s List, a D.C.-based political organization. After that I embarked on a seemingly endless road trip across the United States working to elect whichever candidate I thought best suited for the office for which they were running.

Even more diverse than where I’ve worked are the people I’ve worked with on each campaign. From the candidate, to other staff and volunteers, each has a unique background and political perspective. They also have their own reasons for dedicating their time to each election. Dedication is the most important part of the job description and more often than not we work night and day, seven days a week. In a campaign you never have enough time and you’re always working against the clock.

I understand the perception of insider politics is often glamorized. The real work, however, isn’t done in smoke-filled rooms rubbing elbows with the political elite. Campaigns are hard work, but you wake up every day knowing you can make a difference by working tirelessly for something in which you believe.

While the long hours can be exhausting, the work you do is incredibly rewarding. Some of my favorite moments have been attending Tribal Council meetings on Native American Reservations in an effort to understand the day-to-day issues; waking up at 3 a.m. on any given election day and putting up signs around polling sites to ensure the candidate has the best visibility; being involved in the production of the political advertisements, whether it be speaking, appearing, or editing; attempting to intimidate an incumbent U.S. Senator while dressed as Dorothy from the Wizard of OZ; leading conference calls with then Senator and now President Barack Obama, and becoming friends with members of his family; and the countless fundraisers,



Brittany Ross

local parades, barbecues, and political party meetings. Of course, there isn’t a day that I don’t also have to take out the trash, literally.

Political campaigns don’t come with as defined job descriptions as you may find elsewhere. As a result you get to try almost all aspects of a campaign: press and media relations, voter contact and volunteer recruitment, scheduling the candidate and staff appearances, organizing events, and my particular niche of fundraising. Once your area of campaigning is realized and your skills honed it is easy and fast to rise up the ranks and join the army of campaign professionals who crisscross the country every year to work on the next big race.

My first paid campaign position was as a volunteer coordinator for a gubernatorial campaign in Virginia. I spent my days making phone calls to anyone who would take the time to listen to my pitch, oftentimes ending up in hearing only a loud slam of the phone. It’s never easy going at first, but if it’s a career you’re interested in, just stick with it. Although it’s only been a few short years, I now work with top tier candidates as a consultant and oftentimes have to turn down work.

I can’t say political campaigning is a career meant for everyone. In fact, I’d say it is the career for the few. The long tedious days of crunching voter and donor numbers far outnumber those spent rubbing elbows with the political elite. But in the end, on the day after the election, after you have caught up on some much needed sleep, you realize it was worth it because you know you fought your heart out for something in which you so strongly believe.

Learning to Govern, Learning to Live

By Coby Chase

From time to time, investors like to know if they're getting a good return on their money. Midway through my college career my father naturally called to check on his investment.

"So what are you going to do with a government degree? Teach?" my father asked me.

"No. I'm going to govern. It's clearly stated in the name. I need \$100."

He got his answer, and to put the topic to rest for good, I slapped on the student tax. This degree was already paying off.

I knew then that UT-Austin was an outstanding place to practice governing. It still is. The campus has been an integral part of the state's political history since the day the University opened its doors in 1883. And besides, the state capitol is just down the street. There's no excuse whatsoever to leave school without any practical experience.

The Department of Government also has a stellar faculty that builds on itself each year. Every time I turn on any sort of media these days I find myself, along with the rest of the nation, absorbing the top-rate analysis of Bruce Buchanan, Jim Henson, or Daron Shaw. If you don't know who these guys are the honorable thing to do is to return your degree. Really.

In the first half of the 1980s, student government was reborn, and local, state, and national candidates had operations on campus. Still, since leaving the University in 1986 and being unleashed on our broader democracy, I've enjoyed some terrific experiences that I couldn't have imagined as an undergraduate. I've worked on a project for a governor, collaborated with some of Texas' and the nation's intellectual leaders on major initiatives, and built relationships with members of Congress and the Texas Legislature. And these days, I've expanded my government career portfolio to include large-scale public affairs, international relations, strategic planning, and media relations.

That's what college is supposed to do: prepare you for the bigger, bolder challenges. But you still need to bridge the gap between college and a satisfying career.



Coby Chase

For me, there were three basic elements that made it all work properly. To start with, I was lucky to have a family who never lost faith that I was capable of success, even if it came about on my own terms. Second, UT is a bottomless diamond mine of people who change the world, and I accessed every one of them I could. This included administrators, professors, fellow students, and alumni. Those relationships still push me places today. And last, every day I pursued what I enjoyed. Unrealized passion is a person's worst enemy.

If I've left you with the impression that I planned my life to happen exactly the way it has, then let me disabuse you of that right now. No one is that good. Just be sure to keep your mind and your eyes open to new opportunities, especially ones that take you off the path you think you were on. Those are often the best adventures, and the University of Texas Department of Government prepares you to think your way through it.

Working in the Texas Legislature

By W. Brenda Tso

It all began when I changed a \$60 mistake into a lifetime opportunity. In this instance, it was a \$60 ticket, not for speeding, not even for driving, but for riding the DART rail. That takes talent. Apparently, I had mistakenly bought a student ticket, thinking that “student” included college students. At the time, I was one of many college students employed by GalleryWatch, a legislative tracking service. My job was to sit in on legislative hearings and write a report on what occurred. One month later, as I was doing just that, my daydreaming somehow dredged up the memory of the ticket. I realized that, while it may be unorthodox, I was going to use the story to introduce myself to the committee chairman, a representative from Dallas, home of the notorious DART rail. It was a story that caused him to remember me, and two years later I began working for him, just in time for the 81st regular legislative session.



W. Brenda Tso

water code fail to see the unintended consequences of a certain bill. The government really is interactive – lawmakers partially rely on constituents, media, special interest groups, and non-profits to point out (either beforehand or retroactively) the issues and problems they had with legislation. In the end, the two bookcases full of codes and statutes that make up Texas law are a collaborative effort of more people than you can imagine.

Working at the Texas Capitol is definitely addicting, and once drawn in, many people fail to stay away for long. I myself will be leaving shortly to attend law school, but I have no doubt that I will be back one day at our sunset red capitol. As it is, I can only salute all of those in public service, for while the money may not be much, the results only make Texas a better place.

The representative I worked for was a longtime supporter of Tom Craddick, Speaker of the Texas House of Representatives since 2003, who, one month into the session, was ousted by the election of a new speaker, Joe Straus. As a result, I was just one of many who suddenly found themselves without a job that Thursday. I ran around Friday submitting resumes throughout the Capitol, and was hired the following Monday by another representative. What can I say? Events move fast during the legislative session. I landed in the Texas House of Representatives Committee on Border & Intergovernmental Affairs.

Now, as an experienced capitol employee with one regular session and one special session under my belt, I can truly say it was an experience every government junkie dreams of. It was utterly amazing to personally witness the events reported in the newspaper the next day, and I never knew what important person I would share an elevator with. The most exciting thing, however, was making a difference – working on legislation and bills that had a chance of becoming actual state law. People often fail to appreciate just how vast and complex the law is. It is virtually impossible to be an expert on every single code in Texas statutes and, sometimes, even experts in, say, the

The Strategist: Brent Scowcroft and the Call of National Security

By Bartholomew Sparrow



Bartholomew Sparrow

Hours after Iraqi armed forces invaded Kuwait on Aug. 2, 1990, Brent Scowcroft, who was national security advisor at the time, decided that the United States could not let Iraq occupy Kuwait. Scowcroft came to this conclusion before President George H.W. Bush did, before Defense Secretary Cheney had made a decision, and before Secretary of State James Baker realized that it would take the use of force to evict Iraq from Kuwait. Scowcroft persuaded President Bush of what had to be done, over the objections of others in the White House, the resistance of some in the military — still recovering from Vietnam — the opposition of many in Congress, and reservations on the part of much of the public. But Scowcroft's and the President's views prevailed, and the rest is history.

Months after Sept. 11, 2001, as the younger President Bush, the Vice President, and the rest of his administration were gearing up for war against Iraq, as most members of Congress and almost all Republicans were calling for war, and as the media and much of the American public favored attacking Iraq, there was one prominent dissenting voice. In an op-ed piece in the *Wall Street Journal* of Aug. 15, 2002, entitled "Don't Attack Iraq," Scowcroft protested the administration's plans for war. An invasion would be costly, disastrous for a number of reasons, and premature; the United States should wait for definitive proof of Saddam's wrongdoing before taking action. The op-ed piece made Scowcroft, a respected and prominent foreign policy expert, a persona non grata in the Bush White House and estranged him from his former friends, Vice President Cheney and Condoleezza Rice among them.

Years after the invasion of Iraq, Scowcroft testified in the Senate on Feb. 1, 2007, in support of the proposed "surge" of U.S. troops in Iraq. Scowcroft's support for the surge, which would supplement existing forces in Iraq by tens of thousands of additional troops, did little to repair his broken ties with President Bush (43), Cheney, or other top White House officials, while it disappointed those opposed to the war and who had welcomed Scowcroft's earlier dissent.

These three examples reveal key things about Scowcroft. They point to his courage, his independence of mind, his pragmatism, and his patriotism — acting what he believes is in the United States' long-term interest, no matter the cost. They further suggest Scowcroft's continued impact on U.S. foreign policy. Whereas Scowcroft started his career as a policymaker, being Henry Kissinger's deputy national security advisor, and national security advisor in his own right under President Gerald Ford and then under the elder George Bush, Scowcroft continues to participate in and influence the central, important debates over U.S. foreign policy and national security, notwithstanding the fact that he is no longer in public office and now 84 years of age. He writes, gives speeches, consents to media appearances, runs conferences, heads task forces and presidential commissions, and advises policymakers of both parties—including persons in the current Obama administration. In fact, that there is no one more central to the history of U.S. national security policy over the last 45 years, it is fair to say, than the modest, cordial, and mild-mannered Scowcroft. He is probably the most respected voice in U.S. national security policy — one of Washington's few "wise men" — and he stands at the center of the United States' foreign policy establishment. Most importantly, he is trusted — a rare commodity in Washington.

Summer in Beijing

By Yuval Weber

Thanks to a generous grant from the Department of Government, I was able to conduct research during May and June in Beijing, China. Peter Trubowitz arranged for Professor Sun Zhe to invite me as a Visiting Research Fellow at the Center for US-China Relations at Tsinghua University. I organized my trip by arranging for interviews with Chinese political scientists, sociologists, and UT's own visiting professor, Liu Xuecheng, whose primary affiliation is as Senior Fellow of the China Institute of International Studies, the think tank of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I did about two interviews a day, which sounds light, but between preparation, doing the interviews, and then getting around Beijing, those were very full days (and in formal shoes and clothing with unrestrained humidity).

My dissertation is about natural resources, foreign policy, and international security. My main focus is Russia's use of natural resources, including oil, gas, and diamonds, as a foreign policy lever. The purpose in going to China was to investigate the energy relationship between China and Russia. Russia has abundant natural resources to export, while China does not have nearly enough to independently maintain its expanding industrial production. My research in China focused on trying to gauge whether the two countries can overcome security concerns for their mutual benefit. I returned from China with a better understanding of the Chinese-Russian security and energy relationships and the international relations of East Asia. It was an invaluable trip for dissertation research, and I will hopefully return for a longer visit after advancing to Ph.D. candidacy.

I set aside two days for tourist activities. The first was for going to Tiananmen Square, because I have a personal project of visiting the graves and mausoleums of dictators and other political figures across the world. In Moscow I have visited Lenin and Stalin, and I hope visiting Generalissimo Francisco Franco of Spain and Ho Chi Minh of Vietnam is not too far off. So I took a cab to Tiananmen Square, which at 100 acres is the largest public square in the world. For comparison, the entire UT campus, from the Drag to I-35 and Dean Keeton to MLK, is 350 acres.

I went through the metal detectors and for all the world I looked like a total narc Western journalist, given my camera and notepads. It was two days before the 20th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square "Incident", so the amount of angry, hateful looks directed at me was fully



Yuval Weber

palpable. There might have been more plainclothes police (young, angry muscular guys with earpieces in cargo pants and collared shirts), city police, army soldiers and other uniformed personnel whose organizational affiliations I couldn't divine, than in the entire Austin Police Department.

I went straight to the Mao Mausoleum. Perhaps for occasion of the anniversary or perhaps he wasn't feeling his freshest, but the Chairman wasn't taking visitors – the Mao Mausoleum was closed. The consolation prize was the rest of the attractions. Tiananmen Square is part of a larger complex that includes the Forbidden City, the National Museum of China, the Great Hall of the People, and other government buildings. For Chinese tourists, it is essentially having the entire Washington, D.C. historical and civic tourist attractions in a single area, which is handy.

My other free day was spent fulfilling a childhood dream: visiting the Great Wall of China. The closest portion of the Wall to visit from Beijing is called Badaling, and it was far more impressive in person than I had ever imagined. Designed to protect Beijing from northern invasion, this section of the Wall was restored in the 1950s, and it is an engineering marvel. High up in the mountains, Badaling is so large, tall, and steep that many people there struggled in modern shoes to go up and down the passes between guard towers. Making it up more than one kilometer above sea level, the warm day was left behind for some of the coolest and most refreshing breezes I have ever experienced. Looking out on the endless Wall stretching into the distance over the hills, it was one of those rare moments when a dream came true and expectations were fulfilled.

Iran's Long Road to Reform

By Jason Brownlee

U.S. media coverage of Iran's presidential election and its aftermath has shown a mix of curiosity and outrage, while obscuring several significant elements of Iran's political debate. It may surprise some Americans to learn that many pro-democracy forces in Iran seek to modify the government without overhauling it. For example, presidential aspirant Mir-Hossein Musavi and his close affiliate, former president Mohammad Khatami, envision an Islamic republic – in practice, not just in name. The state would be democratically led by elected politicians with unelected clergy in symbolic or advisory roles.

Throughout the past decade Mousavi and Khatami have worked to accomplish this goal incrementally. Having lived through one revolution and its aftermath, they dread unleashing another. Thus they have sought to minimize public conflict, even in the face of their principal adversaries, such as Leader Ali Khamenei. So far this approach has brought meager results. Peaceful dissidents have faced state-sponsored thuggery while their reformist patrons have backed down. Protests in 1999 ended when President Khatami, who enjoyed a historic popular mandate, sided with Ali Khamenei. Khatami even chastened the students for threatening public order. Khamenei's paramilitary forces then squelched the riots.

Ten years later, post-election dissent has followed a familiar course. While alleging the vote was stolen by backers of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Mousavi's camp avoided a street battle with Ahmadinejad supporters and instead advocated an officially conducted revote. In response, the hardliners entrenched themselves, permitting a partial recount (and confirming Ahmadinejad's victory) while assaulting demonstrators and detaining thousands. When Khamenei's base began repressing the crowds, Mousavi did not reappear to publicly rally his troops and instead issued instructions and denunciations online--to little avail.



Jason Brownlee

Paradoxically, the latest wave of repression, which succeeded tactically for the hardliners, may amplify the core message of Mousavi's movement. Claims of election rigging remain controversial (the most often cited study erroneously compares Ahmadinejad's reelection with his initial bid for the presidency in 2005). The state's retaliation, however, has been vividly recorded and broadcast to a global audience. Even as Khamenei's forces dispersed the latest cohort of demonstrators they may have sown the seeds for future dissent.

As Iranians wrestle over how to improve their government, Americans can recognize that democracy in Iran has advanced through local efforts, not as an imposition from abroad. Leaders like Khatami and Mousavi have worked for decades at enshrining a more representative government while averting social upheaval. External pressure, particularly when applied by the United States, jeopardizes that agenda and strengthens hardliners' claims that Iran is under threat. The best way for outside observers to support Iran's reformists will be to appreciate their hard-won achievements and recognize the long road ahead of them.

Five Issues for the United States and Iran

By Mehdi Noorbaksh

The United States faces five issues it must resolve with Iran. These include Iran's nuclear program, Iraq, Afghanistan, the support of the Iranian government for radical groups, and Iran's opposition to the peace process between the Palestinians and Israelis. The United States can ignore recognizing Ahmadinejad's government and pursue its goals without direct negotiations.



Mehdi Noorbaksh

With regards to the nuclear program, it is judicious for Washington to internationalize the issue further than had the Bush administration. The International Atomic Energy Agency should be empowered by the United States and international community to directly oversee Iranian activities in pursuit of a legitimate nuclear program for peaceful purposes. U.S. negotiations with Ahmadinejad's government risk remaining inconclusive, both in terms of his demands and also his breach of commitment after a resolution. Ahmadinejad's government is mistrusted and perceived as illegitimate by the Iranian people. It would be very difficult and imprudent to trust an untrustworthy government in any negotiated settlement. If Ahmadinejad breaches a contract, subsequently Washington's credibility will be questioned.

On the issues of Iraq and Afghanistan, Ahmadinejad's options are very limited. He has no other choice but to support the current governments in these two nations. The Bush administration falsely exaggerated the influence of Iran in Iraq. Iran's interests in these nations lie in establishing stable governments in both. Ahmadinejad has neither the will nor the allies in either of these two nations for destabilizing their respective governments.

The United States cannot negotiate with Iran regarding its support for radical groups in the Middle East and elsewhere. Ahmadinejad's government feeds on

radicalism and enjoys radicals' support. Relying on radicalism is perceived by this regime as a source of pride and legitimacy. As long as Ahmadinejad and his allies remain in power, the United States must expect to face an ideological confrontation with this regime. Ahmadinejad's government and ideology are undemocratic in nature and expansionist in outreach. From this perspective it is prudent for the United States to stay behind the will of the Iranian nation for fundamental democratic change in that country.

Keeping in mind Hezbollah's losses in Lebanon's recent elections, valuable lessons can be learned. When the forces of democracy are empowered, they may curtail radical influences and establish a viable democratic process, the rule of law, and accountable government. Iranians will be strongly dismayed if Washington gives any encouragement to the current regime in Iran. Historically, the United States aborted the birth of the democratic process in Iran in 1953 by toppling the democratically elected government of Mohammad Musaddiq. Today, Washington must be exceptionally prudent and vigilant to support the democratic movement's achievement of its goal, and not support an unpopular government looking to further stabilize itself.

As for Palestinian-Israeli peace negotiations, Washington must ignore Iran and push for a fair and just settlement between the two parties. Hamas has recently announced its agreement with a settlement that includes the border that existed before the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. Washington would be wise to reject the Israeli drumbeat of confrontation with Iran, focus on solutions which end Palestinian misery, and establish a Palestinian state. Only through a fair resolution of that conflict will the radical tendencies in the Middle East be discredited and its radicals disarmed.

The Longhorn Scholars Program

By Jason Casellas

Following Milton Jamail's retirement, Gary Freeman asked me to teach my Introduction to American Government course as part of the Longhorn Scholars Program. I did not know what to expect, given my limited knowledge of the program. After several years of teaching in the program, I have come to enjoy interacting with students and the staff of the program, led by J. P. Regalado, in ways I could not have imagined.

A little background: University of Texas administrators founded the program in order to devote additional resources and attention to students from a select group of high schools across the state admitted under the Top 10 percent plan. Students enrolled in the program receive additional tutoring and mentoring opportunities. How is my course different from all the other GOV 310L courses taught in our department?

The first and most obvious difference is that class size is significantly smaller than many introductory courses – my course usually has about 80 students, and, as a result, I get to know many of my students by name! Second, I am assigned two teaching assistants under the “Supplemental Instruction” program. These teaching assistants not only grade papers. On Fridays, we have discussion sections with about 20 students each in order to discuss topics from the course as well as lectures from that week. I have found that these discussion sections provide Longhorn Scholars an unparalleled opportunity to immerse themselves in the course material and get to know other students, as well as their discussion leaders. Government Department graduate students Donn Diego Gladish, Pete Mohanty, and Kody Cooper have ably been my teaching assistants for the past several years, and their assistance in course development has been invaluable. Because of the smaller sections, students in the Longhorn Scholars program are given identification and essay exams in lieu of the more traditional multiple choice, scantron exams. This method of assessment allows students to demonstrate their knowledge of the course material in more meaningful and fruitful ways.



Jason Casellas

Throughout the semester, I have the privilege of attending Longhorn Scholar events, including receptions and the graduation ceremony at the end of the year. In the most recent graduation ceremony, students graduating from the Longhorn Scholars program told of their career plans, including medical school, graduate school, law school, and countless other professions. I am proud to be part of a program that contributes to the success of so many University of Texas undergraduates.

Pi Sigma Alpha

By Jeffrey Marsh



Jeffrey Marsh

Pi Sigma Alpha is the University's National Political Science Honor Society. There are today nearly 700 chapters nationwide, but the society was founded in 1920 with the establishment of the Alpha chapter at the University of Texas at Austin. The 1920/21 inaugural issue of the *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly* (now the *Social Science Quarterly*) recorded the event, noting that "an honorary fraternity in political science known as Pi Sigma Alpha Fraternity has been established at the University of Texas. The fraternity was established to meet the need for a professional society in Government. The constitution provides for a national organization and local chapters. Membership is limited to students who have done exceptional work in political science."

The Alpha chapter began under the leadership of Herman Gerlach James, Charles Grove Haines, and Caleb Perry Patterson. Emmette Redford, former Ashbel Smith professor of Government and Public Affairs, once said, Patterson "was constantly promoting the organization, trying to get new chapters established. That went slowly at first, but snowballed as time passed." Patterson became very active and interested in the fraternity's promotion, using his connections to get chapters established in Oklahoma and Kansas in 1922. In March of that year the society held its first national convention at the University of Oklahoma. Robert Taylor Cole, who received his B.A. in government in 1925, his M.A. in government in 1927, and was president of the American Political Science Association in 1958-59, was among the first initiates in the Alpha chapter. Discussing the founding, he once said, "You will find the fine hand of Caleb Perry Patterson, mighty oaths of secrecy when we were initiated, and indirect evidence of a missionary zeal to conquer all (first in the University of Texas, and second in the name of 'Government')."

The current Alpha chapter has more than 125 inducted members. Officers for the 2009-10 academic year are: Garrick Smith, President; John Lewis, Co-Vice President; Samantha Gilley, Co-Vice President, and Megan Reeves, Treasurer. Last year the chapter organized and sponsored two election panels that focused on the 2008 presidential and congressional elections, as well as a panel on the future of the Supreme Court. Ongoing events include the annual "Week in Government," involving a week of guest speakers, information sessions, and recruitment forums focusing on the study of government at the University of Texas at Austin. The chapter is currently developing a special database of government professor and course recommendations for use by its members.

UT's Alpha chapter hopes to continue sponsoring special panels and forums each semester that address the most relevant and timely issues related to the study of government and politics in the 21st century. In the future, Pi Sigma Alpha seeks to increase membership in the organization and become more visible across Austin and the UT campus.

Recent Books by Department of Government Faculty

Itty Abraham, ed.: [South Asian Cultures of the Bomb: Atomic Publics and the State in India and Pakistan](#)

Jeffrey Abramson: [Minerva's Owl: The Tradition of Western Political Thought](#)

Zoltan Barany and Robert Moser, eds.: [Is Democracy Exportable?](#)

Jason Brownlee: [Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization](#)

J. Budziszewski: [The Line Through the Heart: Natural Law as Fact, Theory, and Sign of Contradiction](#)

James Enelow and Melvin Hinich, eds.: [Advances in the Spatial Theory of Voting](#)

George Gavrilis: [The Dynamics of Interstate Boundaries](#)

Terri Givens, Gary Freeman, and David Leal, eds.: [Immigration Policy and Security: U.S., European, and Commonwealth Perspectives](#)

Kenneth Greene: [Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico's Democratization in Comparative Perspective](#)

Juliet Hooker: [Race and the Politics of Solidarity](#)

William Hurst: [The Chinese Worker after Socialism](#)

Bryan Jones (and Frank Baumgartner): [Agendas and Instability in American Politics, Second Edition](#)

Andrew Karch: [Democratic Laboratories: Policy Diffusion among the American States](#)

Eric McDaniel: [Politics in the Pews: The Political Mobilization of Black Churches](#)

Patrick McDonald: [The Invisible Hand of Peace: Capitalism, The War Machine, and International Relations Theory](#)

Lorraine Pangle: [The Political Philosophy of Benjamin Franklin](#)

Ami Pedahzur: [The Israeli Secret Services and the Struggle Against Terrorism](#)

Tasha Philpot: [Race, Republicans, and the Return of the Party of Lincoln](#)

David Prindle: [Stephen Jay Gould and the Politics of Evolution](#)

Daron Shaw (with Karen Kaufmann and John Petrocik): [Unconventional Wisdom: Facts and Myths About American Voters](#)

Sean Theriault: [Party Polarization in Congress](#)

R. Harrison Wagner: [War and the State: The Theory of International Politics](#)

Kurt Weyland: [Bounded Rationality and Policy Diffusion: Social Sector Reform in Latin America](#)